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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 3342G

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, BIND, US, IT

SUBJECT: ITALIAN LOCKHEED SCANDAL: ITS MEANING AND IMPACT

REF: ROME 3250

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. ITALIAN PORTION OF LOCKHEED SCANDAL IS STILL RECEIVING UNPRECEDENTED MEDIA AND PUBLIC ATTENTION. WIDENING INVESTIGATIONS THREATEN TO AFFECT MANY IMPORTANT INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS. THIS TELEGRAM DESCRIBES DEVELOPMENTS DURING PAST MONTH AND ASSESSES THEIR IMPACT. END SUMMARY.

2. DEVELOPMENTS. IN 1971 FOLLOWING THREE YEARS OF "NEGOTIATIONS" THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY FINALLY PURCHASED FOURTEEN LOCKHEED C-130 HERCULES AIRCRAFT FOR THE ITALIAN AIR FORCE. THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF THE PURCHASE WAS APPROXIMATELY 60 MILLION DOLLARS.

3. ON FEBRUARY 4, 1976 SENATOR CHURCH'S SUBCOMMITTEE ON MULTI-NATIONALS RELEASED A COLLECTION OF LOCKHEED DOCUMENTS DESCRIBING HOW AGENTS' FEES AND SALES COMMISSIONS HAD BEEN USED TO PROMOTE SALES IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, ITALY INCLUDED. THESE DOCUMENTS IMPLICATED--WITHOUT NAMING--FORMER DEFENSE MINISTERS GUI (DC) AND TANASSI (PSDI). AS THE DOCUMENTS KEPT APPEARING IN THE PRESS AND AS OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS--ESPECIALLY JAPAN AND

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HOLLAND--BEGAN TO MAKE VERY VIGOROUS INVESTIGATIONS, THE ITALIAN

GOVERNMENT WAS FORCED TO BEGIN STEPS TO "BRING FACTS IN THIS CASE TO LIGHT". MINISTER GUI'S REFUSAL TO CONTINUE IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT UNTIL HE HAD PROVEN HIMSELF INNOCENT WAS A PRECEDENT SETTING ACTION WHICH WAS UNSETTLING FOR MANY OF HIS FELLOW CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (AND NO DOUBT POLITICIANS OF OTHER PARTIES AS WELL.) THIS LED TO OUR GOVERNMENT'S PROVIDING SET OF "LOCKHEED" DOCUMENTS TO BOTH MR. GUI AND TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY. THEY COMPLAINED THAT THEY DID NOT RECEIVE ALL THE DOCUMENTS WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE PRESS. THE ITALIAN PRESS, OF COURSE, PLAYED UP THE MISSING DOCUMENTS AS INDICATION OF US ATTEMPT TO COVER UP EVEN MORE INCRIMINATING MATERIAL.

4. AS THE MONTH UNFOLDED A RATHER LONG LINE OF NAMES FLOATED THROUGH THE MEDIA WITH INSINUATIONS OF INVOLVEMENT IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER WITH THE SCANDAL. AMONG THESE NAMES WERE THOSE OF CAMILLO CROCIANI, THE PRESIDENT OF FINMECCANICA, ONE OF ITALY'S LARGEST STATE-OWNED HOLDING COMPANIES, AND GIOVANNI LEONE, THE PRESIDENT OF ITALY ITSELF. CHARGES WERE BROUGHT AGAINST CROCIANI; HE WAS IN EFFECT FIRED FROM HIS JOB; AND HE FLED THE COUNTRY THEREBY PROVING TO THE PUBLIC THAT HE WAS GUILTY ON ALL CHARGES--WHATEVER THEY MIGHT BE AND THEY HAVE NEVER BEEN CLEARLY DESCRIBED. PRESIDENT LEONE HAS FARED BETTER AS HIS CONNECTION VIA A LIFE-LONG FRIENDSHIP WITH ONE OF LOCKHEED'S AGENTS APPEARS TO HAVE DROPPED OUT OF PUBLIC FOCUS.

5. PRIME MINISTER MORO ON FEBRUARY 19 IN HIS INITIAL ADDRESS TO CHAMBER AS HEAD OF THIS GOVERNMENT DEFENDED PRESIDENT LEONE AND ANNOUNCED THE APPOINTMENT OF A HIGH-LEVEL BOARD OF THREE WISEMEN TO STUDY THE LOCKHEED MATTER AND REPORT TO HIM IN THREE MONTHS. ON FEBRUARY 26 FOREIGN MINISTER RUMOR REPORTED TO THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES ON THE STEPS HIS MINISTRY HAD TAKEN TO GET A FULL EXPLANATION FROM THE USG ON MYSTERIES INVOLVED IN BOTH THE CIA(PIKE) AND LOCKHEED(CHURCH) REPORTS. OUR TELEGRAM 3250 ANALYZES HIS COMMENTS IN DETAIL. HIS MAIN POINT WAS THAT WHILE BOTH "MATTERS" WERE OBVIOUSLY SERIOUS THEY SHOULD NOT CALL INTO QUESTION ITALY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS CLOSEST AND STRONGEST ALLY. HE REGRETTED, HOWEVER, THAT BECAUSE OF US NATIONAL SECURITY PERCEPTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL

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IMPERATIVES WE HAD DECIDED NOT TO PROVIDE ITALY WITH ALL OF THE MATERIAL REQUESTED. HE PROMISED TO RELENTLESSLY CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS TO RECEIVE FULL DOCUMENTATION FROM THE USG.

6. THE LOCKHEED CASE HAS RECEIVED PRECEDENT-SETTING MEDIA ATTENTION. BEGINNING ON FEBRUARY 5 IT HAS HAD DAILY FRONT PAGE TREATMENT IN PRACTICALLY EVERY MAJOR ITALIAN NEWSPAPER. IL MESSAGGERO OF ROME HAS DEDICATED ITS ENTIRE SECOND PAGE TO

COVERAGE OF THE SCANDAL EVERY DAY DURING THIS PERIOD. THE MAJOR NEWS MAGAZINES HAVE ON AVERAGE DEVOTED ABOUT FIVE PAGES TO IT, AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS, EVERY WEEK. L'EUROPEO(RIZZOLI CHAIN), THE FOURTH LARGEST PHOTO NEWS WEEKLY, PUBLISHED A SPECIAL ISSUE DEVOTED TO THE CHURCH REPORT DOCUMENTS--INVOLVING ALL COUNT-RIES AND ALLEGEDLY INCLUDING THE MISSING ITALIAN DOCUMENTS. THEY PRINTED FACSIMILES OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS WITH PARALLEL ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS. EDITION COSTS ONE DOLLAR, OR ALMOST THREE TIMES NORMAL ISSUE OF THE MAGAZINE. WHILE WE ARE NOT SURE HOW MANY COPIES HAVE BEEN SOLD OR WILL BE READ, IT IS AT LEAST INDICATIVE OF LEVEL OF INTEREST ATTUNED JOURNALISTS FEEL PUBLIC HAS IN THIS ISSUE. WE WOULD ESTIMATE THAT AT LEAST 100 ITALIAN JOURNALISTS ARE WORKING FULL TIME ON LOCKHEED AND RELATED SCANDALS. THIS SHOULD GUARANTEE THAT THE ISSUE REMAIN HOT FOR SOME TIME AND THAT ADDITIONAL LEADS ARE DEVELOPED INTO RELATED CORRUPTION PRACTICES.

7. ONE EFFECT OF THE MEDIA COVERAGE HAS BEEN TO SPUR ON THE JUDICIAL POLICE AND THE FINANCE GUARDS HAVE BEEN INTERROGATING CENTRAL FIGURES--THE AGENTS, THEIR ATTORNEYS, FORMER MILITARY OFFICERS, MAJOR INDUSTRIAL LEADERS, AND ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS MINISTERS GUI AND TANASSI--AND INVESTIGATING BANK ACCOUNTS AND OTHER ASSETS OF INVOLVED FIRMS AND INDIVIDUALS. THIS HAS LED TO THE ARREST OF A PROMINENT ROME ATTORNEY (VITTORIO ANTONELLI) WHO IN TURN IMPLICATED CAMILLO CROCIANI, THE PRESIDENT OF FIN-MECCANICA, ONE OF ITALY'S MOST IMPORTANT, STATE-OWNED, INDUSTRIAL HOLDING COMPANIES. CROCIANI, WHO MIGHT HAVE THE ANSWERS TO MANY OF THE PUBLIC'S QUESTIONS, MANAGED TO LEAVE ITALY WITH HIS MONEY AND FILES BEFORE A WARRANT FOR HIS ARREST WAS ISSUED. THIS FACT IS THE ONE BLACK MARK BEING PLACED AGAINST THE INVESTI-GATION. THE JUDGES HAVE ALSO REQUESTED ASSISTANCE FROM INTERPOL AND THE EMBASSY'S LEGAL ATTACHE FOR AN INVESTIGATORY TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES WHERE LOCKHEED OFFICIALS AND SENATOR CONFIDENTIAL

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CHURCH WOULD BE INTERVIEWED. THEY ARE STILL AWAITING FORMAL APPROVAL FROM OUR GOVERNMENT. LEADS DEVELOPED IN THEIR INVESTI-GATION HAVE LED TO THE DESIGNATION OF TWO OTHER MAGISTRATES TO LOOK INTO SIMILAR CHARGES AGAINST SELENIA, A STATE-OWNED MANUFACTURER OF ELECTRONICS, RADAR AND MILITARY COMPONENTS, AND PAGE EUROPA, NORTHROP'S ITALIAN SUBSIDIARY. THE SELENIA INVESTIGATION HAS ALREADY PRODUCED FOUR ARREST WARRANTS FOR CORRUPTION.

8. IMPACT: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LOCKHEED SCANDAL IS THAT COMING SO SOON ON THE HEELS OF THE CIA REVELATIONS IT HAS THROWN MUD ON MANY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT NON-COMMUNIST ITALIAN INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS WHICH HAD MANAGED TO ESCAPE INCRIMINATION IN THE CIA STORIES. IT HAS ALSO FURTHER DISCREDITED THE IMAGE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AS A MODEL FOR THE ITALIAN POLITICAL

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6041

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 3342

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, BIND, US, IT

SUBJ: ITALIAN LOCKHEED SCANDAL: ITS MEANING AND IMPACT

SYSTEM AND CALLED INTO QUESTION THE ADVISABILITY OF CLOSE PUBLIC
ASSOCIATION WITH AMERICA. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS
HIGHLIGHT THE DEMOCRATIC ASSETS AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN
DAMAGED.

9. ITALIAN INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS.

A. LEADING POLITICIANS WITH REPUTATIONS FOR PRO-AMERICANISM
EFFICIENCY AND INTEGRITY. MARIO TANASSI IS WIDELY KNOWN AS
ONE OF THE LEADING EXPONENTS OF NATO AND A CLOSE ALLIANCE
WITH THE UNITED STATES. HE HAS LONG ADVOCATED THE MAIN-
TENANCE OF AN EFFECTIVE ITALIAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT
EVEN IF IT INVOLVED SOME FINANCIAL SACRIFICE. IF IT IS DEMON-
STRATED THAT "HE ONLY DID IT FOR THE MONEY", IT WILL HARM
THE CAUSE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. IT COULD ALSO FRAC-
TURE HIS PARTY--THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS--AND DISCOURAGE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FROM MAKING EFFORT TO REMAIN AUTONOMOUS
DEMOCRATIC FORCE. LUIGI GUI, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS ONE
OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WITH IMPECCABLE CREDENTIALS AS
AN HONEST MAN AND AN EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATOR. THE DC CAN

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ILL AFFORD TO HAVE ONE OF THEIR MOST ESTEEMED REPRESENTATIVES FOUND GUILTY IN THIS SCANDAL. EVEN IF GUI AND TANASSI ARE NOT PROVEN GUILTY, IT WILL BE ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO THEM, IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, TO PROVE THEIR INNOCENCE.

B. PARASTATAL ENTITIES. THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT OF A MAJOR STATE-HOLDING COMPANY CHOSE TO FLEE RATHER THAN FIGHT CHARGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN THIS AFFAIR HAS CONFIRMED GENERAL BELIEF THAT POLITICALLY-APPOINTED EXECUTIVES OF THESE MASSIVE FIRMS ARE MORE DEVOTED TO ENRICHING THEMSELVES AND THEIR PARTIES THAN IN EMPLOYMENT OF PRODUCTION. IT WILL NOW APPEAR THAT THEY ARE EVEN WILLING TO SACRIFICE CRITICAL SOCIAL GOALS IN THE PURSUIT OF PERSONAL OR PARTISAN GAIN. ONLY THE PCI AND MSI CAN ESCAPE THESE CHARGES BECAUSE THEY HAVE NEVER BEEN ENTRUSTED WITH ANY OF THESE MAJOR ENTITIES. MOREOVER SENIOR LEVELS OF THIS EMBASSY AND OUR GOVERNMENT HAVE FOR YEARS HAD CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH THESE EXECUTIVES. THESE RELATIONSHIPS ARE LIKELY TO BE EXPLOITED BY THE PRESS.

C. THE MILITARY. THE PRESS IS ARGUING THAT BRIBES WERE NECESSARY TO SELL THE C-130 BECAUSE IT WAS NOT THE PROPER PLANE FOR ITALY'S MILITARY NEEDS. THEY ARGUE THAT IT HAS TOO MUCH RANGE, USES TOO MUCH FUEL, IS TOO COMPLEX, AND COSTS TOO MUCH. SOME CLAIM THAT ITALY SHOULD HAVE PURCHASED THE FRANCO-GERMAN "TRANSALT", WAITED FOR THE FIAT 6222, OR MADE DO WITH OLD FLEET OF C-119 FLYING BOXCARS. THEY ALSO POINT OUT THAT LOCKHEED MANAGED TO PASS THE ENTIRE COST OF THE "SALES EFFORT" BACK TO THE ITALIAN TAXPAYER. SHOULD IT BE DEMONSTRATED THAT MILITARY OFFICERS ACTUALLY RECOMMENDED THE C-130 IN RETURN FOR BRIBES OR UNDER POLITICAL PRESSURE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE PARLIAMENT WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO AUTHORIZE ENTIRE MODERNIZATION PACKAGE WHICH THE ITALIAN SERVICES SEEK AND DESPERATELY NEED. ONE CAN ALSO IMAGINE THAT IT WOULD AFFECT ADVERSELY MORALE AND DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS ALREADY SIMMERING IN THE RANKS.

D. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM. THOUGH THE PRESENT INVESTIGATIONS ARE VIGOROUS BY ITALIAN STANDARDS, SHOULD THEY ULTIMATELY FAIL TO IDENTIFY THE GUILTY PARTIES, THE JUDICIAL

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MATELY FAIL TO IDENTIFY THE GUILTY PARTIES, THE JUDICIAL

SYSTEM COULD HAVE ITS IMAGE SEVERLY TARNISHED. THIS WOULD BE AN ESPECIALLY DAMAGING BLOW DURING PRESENT ERA OF RISING CRIME AND SOCIAL INSTABILITY. TO AVOID THESE CHARGES THE INVESTIGATORS COULD BE TEMPTED TO SEARCH FOR SCAPEGOATS. US MULTINATIONALS, THE US GOVERNMENT AND OTHER FOREIGN INDIVIDUALS WOULD BE OBVIOUS CANDIDATES.

E. THE PRESIDENCY. THE PRESIDENCY HAD UNTIL RECENTLY A REPUTATION FOR FAIRNESS, AND CLEANLINESS, PARTLY FLOWING FROM POSITION ABOVE AND OUTSIDE NORMAL POLITICAL MANEUVERS. ASSERTIONS THAT SARAGAT MAY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED WITH CIA, AND THAT LEONE IS CLOSELY RELATED TO ONE OF THE MAIN FIGURES IN THE LOCKHEED SCANDALS, ANTONIO LEFEBVRE, HAVE MADE THE PRESIDENCY A SUBJECT FOR THE SAME TYPE OF SENSATIONAL SPECULATION THAT HAS LONG ATTACHED TO OTHER COMPONENTS OF THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM.

10. THE IMPACT ON AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS AND OUR REPUTATION.

A. THE ONGOING CIA REVELATIONS--ESPECIALLY THE CHARGES THAT FORMER AMBASSADOR MARTIN HAD ENTRUSTED ITALIAN INTELLIGENCE CHIEF, GENERAL MICELI, WITH FUNDS TO CONDUCT A PROPAGANDA OPERATION--CONVINCED LARGE SECTIONS OF THE YOUNG (AND OTHER IDEALISTS) THAT THE US IN FACT HAD LITTLE FAITH IN ITALIAN DEMOCRACY AND DID NOT HONOR PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. MANY EVEN ACCEPTED CONCLUSION THAT OUR GOVERNMENT STOOPED TO COMMISSION OF TERRORIST OUTRAGES IN HOPE OF PROVOKING RIGHT-WING REACTION. THE LESS IDEALISTIC MERELY ASSUME WE ARE AND WERE DUMB ENOUGH TO GIVE FUNDS TO PEOPLE WHO ANY SENSIBLE ITALIAN REALIZES WOULD MISUSE THE MONEY WHILE NOT DELIVERING ON ANY POLITICAL PROMISES UNLESS THEY HAD INTENDED TO DO SO ANYWAY.

B. THE LOCKHEED SCANDAL DEMONSTRATED TO SOME THAT, IN ADDITION TO OUR GOVERNMENT, US BUSINESS ALSO FEELS FREE TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A SOVEREIGN ALLY. THEIR RESORT TO THE BRIBE TO ENCOURAGE BUSINESS SHOWS LACK OF FAITH IN COMPETITIVE MARKET MECHANISMS AND FREE ENTERPRISE. THIS SCANDAL HAS ALSO REFOCUSSED ATTENTION ON OPERATIONS OF OTHER AMERICAN MULTINATIONS--ESPECIALLY THE OIL FIRMS
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AND UNITED FRUIT. INCREDIBLY, OPERATIONS OF OTHER FOREIGN FIRMS HAVE NOT BEEN SO SCRUTINIZED. UNFORTUNATELY, IT WILL NOT HELP THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY FOR ITALIAN, FRENCH, GERMAN, AND JAPANESE FIRMS TO JOIN OURS IN THE STOCKADE UNLESS THE OPERATIONS OF THE EASTERN TRADING CORPORATIONS ARE LIEKWISE IMPLICATED.

C. IMMATURITY AND IRRESPONSIBILITY OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

MANY OF OUR FRIENDS ARE UPSET THAT ONE BRANCH OF OUR GOVERNMENT, WHILE PROPERLY ATTEMPTING TO CLEAN OUR NEST, HAS SEEN FIT TO PUBLISH UNPROVABLE AND POSSIBLY SELF-SERVING MATERIAL IN A MANNER THAT INDICTS FOREIGNERS WHO ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. OTHERS CITE THIS AS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF PURITAN SELF-FLAGELLATION DEMONSTRATING THAT WE ARE NOT A RELIABLE ALLY. THE ITALIAN OLD/NEW LEFT OFFERS IT AS PROOF FOR THEIR THESIS THAT THERE ARE TWO AMERICAS--A GOOD ONE (THE REFORMERS) AND A BAD ONE (THE ADMINISTRATION, BIG BUSINESS, ETC.)

11. ASSESSMENT: ALL OF OUR CONTACTS--IN THE PROVINCES AS WELL AS IN ROME--SAY THAT THE LOCKHEED SCANDAL IS MORE DAMAGING THAN THE CIA REVELATIONS (SEE ROME 2134). WITH ALL OF THE ENDLESS PUBLICITY, THE STORY COMES ACROSS AS "PROOF" THAT THE SYSTEM IS ROTTEN--AND THE BLAME FALLS ON THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN IN CHARGE FOR THE PAST THIRTY YEARS, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. BEING CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, THE US INEVITABLY SHARES THAT BLAME. AS WITH THE CIA SCANDALS, THE STORY IS SEEN BY MANY (ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG) AS CONFIRMATION OF WHAT PCI PROPAGANDA HAS BEEN TELLING THEM FOR YEARS. MOST ANALYSTS HAVE, IN RECENT YEARS, ATTRIBUTED THE DC'S DECLINING STRENGTH TO INEFFICIENCY AND COORUPTION. THE LOCKHEED SCANDAL WILL WORK STRONGLY AGAINST DC EFFORTS TO WIN BACK SOME OF THOSE WHO HAVE, FOR THESE REASONS, SWITCHED THEIR ELECTORAL SUPPORT FROM THE DC TO THE LEFT.

12. AS FOR THE US, THE LOCKHEED SCANDAL HAS REINFORCED THE IMPACT OF THE CIA REVELATIONS. WE ARE AN EMBARRASSMENT FOR OUR FRIENDS. THE PUBLICITY ABOUT THE LOCKHEED DOCUMENTS DOES NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE VARIOUS BEANCHES OF OUR GOVERNMENT. INSTEAD, THE "US" IS ACCUSED OF INFLECTING A STUNNING BLOW
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TO THE DC, AND AS A RESULT, IN DC OUR WELCOME IS NOW TEPID AND THE VALUE OF OUR ADVICE AND SUPPORT ARE BEING SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED. THE ONLY CONCEIVABLE DAMAGE-LIMITING OPERATION WOULD BE FULL DISCLOSURE OF THE FACTS AND ELIMINATION OF THOSE CULPABLE. TO BE EFFECTIVE, SUCH DISCLOSURE WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE QUICKLY, AND MANY OF OUR FRIENDS ARE RESENTFUL THAT WE ARE UNABLE TO COME UP WITH THE INFORMATION NEEDED. MEANWHILE OTHERS ARE COWERING IN FEAR OF REVELATIONS YET TO COME.
BEAUDRY

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